Text as Data

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Ideological Scaling

1) Task

- Measure political actors' position in policy space
- Low dimensional representation of beliefs

2) Objective function

- Linear Discriminant Analysis (ish) → Wordscores (today)
- Item Response Theory → Wordfish
- Item Response Theory + Roll Call Votes \leadsto Issue-specific ideal points (12/2)

3) Optimization

- Wordscores→ straightforward, based on training texts
- Wordfish → EM, MCMC methods

Validation

- What is the goal of embedding?
- What is the gold standard?

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Estimation goal: $\widehat{\theta}_i$ Scaling \leadsto placing actors in low-dimensional space (like principal components!)

US Congress and Roll Call

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 - Widely used: hard to write a paper on American political institutions with ideal points

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 - Bonica (2013, 2014) → estimate ideology from donations (but not everyone donates)

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Estimating Ideal Points in General

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Healthy skepticism!

Our plan

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Wordscores → Big in Europe

Wordscores, Like the Hoff→ Big in Europe



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 $x_i \rightsquigarrow$ aggregation across documents.

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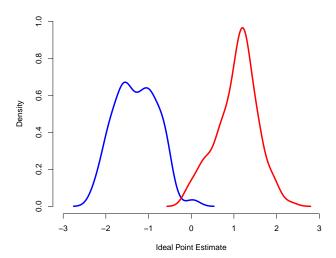
Applied to the Senate Press Releases

L = Ted Kennedy

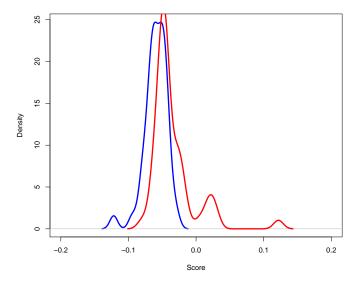
 $C = \mathsf{Tom} \; \mathsf{Coburn}$

Apply to other senators.

Applying to Senate Press Releases → Gold Standard Scaling from NOMINATE



Applying to Senate Press Releases → WordScores



Supervised Scaling

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- Sensitive to who is chosen
- False prediction problem → speech accomplishes many goals, only some of which are ideological

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To be fair: fast, nonparametric, and novel [trailblazing] method for scoring documents (starts conversation)

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Simplest model: Principal Components

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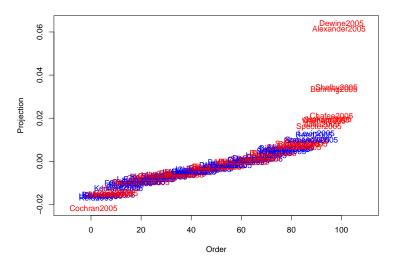
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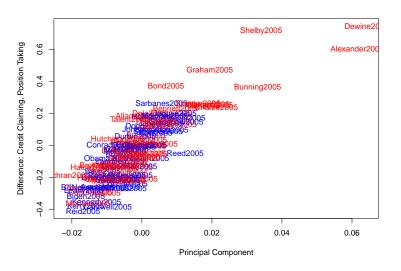
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Probabilistic Unsupervised Embeddings

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Monroe and Maeda (2005) and Slopkin and Proksch (2008) develop similar algorithms

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"Regression" of x_{ij} on ideal points θ_i , where we have to learn θ_i

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- EM-algorithm

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$$p(\theta, \alpha, \psi, \beta) \propto p(\alpha)p(\beta)p(\psi)p(\theta) \times \prod_{i=1}^{N} \prod_{j=1}^{J} \frac{\exp\left[-\left(\alpha_{i} + \psi_{j} + \beta_{j} \times \theta_{i}\right)\right]\left(\alpha_{i} + \psi_{j} + \beta_{j} \times \theta_{i}\right)^{x_{ij}}}{x_{ij}!}$$

Estimate parameters:

- EM-algorithm
- MCMC algorithm

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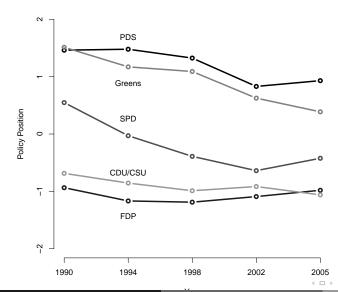
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Wordfish package in R

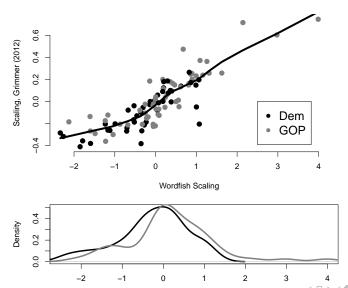
Applications: German Party Manifestos

Wordfish and German Platforms



Applications: German Party Manifestos

Wordfish and Senate Press Releases



The Problem with Text-Based Scaling

What does validation mean?

- 1) Replicate NOMINATE, DIME, or other gold standards?
- 2) Agreement with experts
- 3) Prediction of other behavior

Must answer this to make progress on pure text scaling